1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14

[p. 1]

I

HISTORICAL AND GEOGRAPHICAL INTRODUCTION

1. VLACHS

In continental Greece north of Corinth the observant traveller is soon aware of communities of Greek-speaking transhumant shepherds known as Sarakatsani (Σαρακατσάνοι, or Σαρακατσαναῖοι). In the plains it is unnecessary even to leave the main roads to see small groups of circular, domed, huts of wood and thatch, or flocks of sheep and goats guarded by shepherds dressed in rough black suits and immense goat-hair capes woven from the fleeces of their own animals. From May until the first days of November these semi-nomad shepherds graze their considerable flocks on the higher slopes of the mountains, generally 3,000–6,000 feet above sea level; during the remainder of the year they live in the coastal plains. Simple facts of climate and relief, snow on the high ground in winter, in the summer burning heat in the plains, encourage this transhumance in a geographical area physically dominated by the ranges of the Pindus massif and the southern extremity of the Rhodope mountains. Epirus, Thessaly, Macedonia, and Thrace are the provinces in which they are most numerous but communities are found further south in continental Greece and some groups are established in the north of the Peloponnese and Euboea. In the whole of Greece their number, perhaps, approaches eighty thousand,[1] a population which was possibly absolutely greater a hundred years ago, but was certainly relatively more considerable as a fraction of the total inhabitants of the area.

The Greek villagers generally refer to the Sarakatsani simply as Vlachs (Βλάχοι), that is shepherds who, in step with the rhythm of the seasons, lead their animals alternately down to the plains and up to the mountains. The occupational reference of the word, Vlach,[2] is an old one, already in use during the Byzantine period.

[1] Mme Chatzimichalis arrives at a total of 81,473. Ἀγγελικὴ Χατζημιχάλη, *Σαρακατσάνοι*, Athens, 1957, vol. i, Part A, p. ϛ'.

[2] See e.g. Anna Comnena, Ed. Bonn., i, p. 395. One of a number of references quoted by Mme Chatzimichalis, op. cit., vol. i, Part A, p. ϛ'.

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
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2. THE SARAKATSANI OF ZAGORI

The community of Sarakatsan shepherds which I describe in this study numbers about 4,000 souls.[18] In summer they are found in Zagori, a mountainous district north-east of the town of Jannina on the western limits of the Pindus range in the province of Epirus. Here they graze their sheep and goats from May until the early days of November; or as they would calculate it, between the feast-days of St. George and St. Demetrius which mark their seasonal migrations between plain and mountain (and are celebrated according to the old Julian calendar, that is, on the 6th May and the 8th November by the new calendar). In each Zagori village with high grasslands there is a local gathering of Sarakatsan families which exploit the grazing land of the community and add to it a summer population of 100–300 men, women, and children. Since 1938 the majority of these shepherd families have enjoyed the same citizenship and grazing rights as the sedentary villagers of Zagori from whom previously they had to rent their pastures. There are 152,000 sheep and goats in the Zagori of which 85,000 sheep and 13,000 goats belong to the Sarakatsani.[19] Although the eastern villages of the district are Koutsovlach in speech and sentiment very few of their inhabitants are, any longer, transhumant shepherds, and the pastures of these villages are used by the Sarakatsani, who indeed occupy almost all the higher pastures of the district, grazing their flocks on the lands of 30 of the 43 villages which today constitute Zagori; the remaining villages are low lying (where it is easier to keep animals throughout the year), or they are without extensive areas of grass.

In the winter the community is more widely dispersed. The Sarakatsani move down from the mountains to the coastal plains and valleys over an area which extends from the Albanian frontier as far south as the towns of Arta and Preveza and even beyond.

[18] There are no census details for the Sarakatsani as such. And police restriction on my movements prevented me from carrying out a complete survey of all the sheep villages in Zagori. However, on the basis of my own incomplete figures and information supplied by the Ministry of Agriculture for pastoralism in Zagori generally, this figure is most unlikely to be far from the truth.

[19] Thus there are 24·5 sheep and goats per head of population among the Zagori Sarakatsani.

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
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relieved from the various pressures that the tselingas had previously been able to apply, and now entitled to secure grazing rights, were able gradually to increase their flocks or, if they were wage shepherds, to build up a small flock that had not previously existed. At the same time the impossibility of finding considerable tracts of winter grazing forced the rich tselingas to reduce the size of his flocks below the formerly modest limit of a thousand. The conjunction of these trends has led to a more even distribution of wealth in the community.

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I have indicated some of the geographical and historical conditions that help to explain the presence of the Sarakatsani in Zagori. And I have referred to more recent developments that have introduced important changes in the internal structure of the community and in its relation to the outside world. But these general considerations also emphasize the inherent vulnerability of a transhumant shepherd community in a society of settled villages. Historically, and still today, the village is the important political and social unit in rural Greece. Its elected officials are used by the Greek Government in many matters (as they were by the Ottomans) as the final link in the bureaucratic hierarchy. They are a channel of government and a channel of patronage. Yet many of the Sarakatsani of Zagori still have no secure political rights in the plains where their difficulties are greatest. There, many stand outside the political body of the village, membership of which would grant them each year the right on which their survival as a community depends, the right to graze.

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori

The family is, indeed, the centre of the shepherd's world. Inside its limits he finds support, affection, and a sense of moral obligation. With certain qualifications these attitudes are extended to all the relations of the kindred. But outside the family and the kindred a man meets and expects only hostility and suspicion. There are conventions of conduct, but there is no general conscience of obligation to others. From the point of view of each individual, the community is divided into those who are kinsmen, a man's own people (δικοί), and those who are not kinsmen, that is strangers (ξένοι). There is a third intermediate category of persons, the affines (συμπέθεροι), strangers with whom a man or his kinsman has become related through a contract of marriage. Confidence, trust, and an altruistic concern about another individual's welfare can only exist between kinsmen, and it is only in a kinship relationship that a man is able to abandon the outlook of self-interest which normally guides him in relations outside the family.

It follows that a man looks towards his kinsmen for practical support. As we have seen, unrelated families are mutually opposed. The family, with reference to which the individual must act in almost all contexts of behaviour, faces a hostile community. Therefore this support is peculiarly important. Yet, in relation to the community's population of about 4,000 souls, the average size of an individual's kindred is small, seldom exceeding 250 men, women, and children of whom some 160 will be second cousins, a category of relations who are on the margin of kinship. Kinsmen are relatively few and correspondingly precious. In summer the kindred is scattered over 390 square miles of difficult and tortuous country, and a man does not, generally, live within an hour's walk of more than one-fifth of his kinsmen. This, in part, is the practical importance of kinship connexions; they offer a certain freedom of social manœuvre. Kinsmen established at strategic points through a community, which is numerically not small and geographically very dispersed, are able to offer hospitality and local information which pride and distrust prevent a man asking of unrelated persons. The network of a man's kinship relations provides him with a system of information and intelligence without which he cannot conduct his affairs efficiently or profitably. The price that he should ask for his milk, his wool, and animals for

APPENDIX I

THE WINTER CO-OPERATIVE GROUPINGS OF SARAKATSANI GRAZING THE LANDS OF A ZAGORI VILLAGE (NEOCHORI) IN 1955

HOUSEHOLDS	The No. of Brothers (if an extended household)	Relation of Head of household to Tselingas* or Leader of the stasi	Working males over 15 years of age	Working females over 15 years of age	Sons at secondary school	Wage shepherds working away from family	Children and old people not able to work	Total	Horses and Mules	Sheep	Goats	Total of Sheep and Goats	Notes on Location of Winter grazing, etc.
†1.													
Constantine Tangas		Tsel.	3	2	1	—	1	7	2	325	40	365	Winter grazing: Grika. Pasture leased with protected rights
Vasili		Br.	4	1	—	—	0	5	4	282	40	322	
Demetrios		Br.	1	3	—	—	2	6	2	229	30	259	
Evangelos		Br.	2	5	—	—	2	9	1	171	30	201	The families of George Tangas, John Vangelis and George Makris each graze their sheep separately in summer
George		Br.	4	7	—	—	0	11	11	255	50	305	
John Vangelis		Sis.Hus.	4	4	—	—	1	9	5	298	40	338	
George Makris		Sis.Son	3	4	—	—	6	13	2	353	30	383	
Miltiades Kallis		Br.Wi.Sis.Hus.	1	2	—	—	3	6	2	40	15	55	
			22					66				2228	

* In this table I reserve the term Tselingas for the leader of a group with more than 500 animals.
† The numbered groups of households represent sheep management units.

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori
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H36
H4H
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1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori

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430
454
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602

[E 357]

HOUSEHOLDS	The No. of Brothers (if an extended household)	Relation of Head of household to Tselingas* or Leader of the stani	Working males over 15 years of age	Working females over 15 years of age	Sons at secondary school	Wage shepherds working away from family	Children and old people not able to work	Total	Horses and Mules	Sheep	Goats	Total of Sheep and Goats	Notes on Location of Winter grazing, etc.
2.													
Georgi Zygos	2	Tsel.	3	5	—	—	1	9	2	335	0	355	Winter grazing: Nea Kerasounda. Pasture leased with protected rights
‡ Miltiades Loutsaris		Mo.Br.Son	2	2	—	—	1	5	1	100	10	110	
Costas Sultanos		Fa.Br.D.Hus.	1	2	—	2	2	7	1	45	0	45	
			6					21				510	
3.													
Grzegory Kapsalis	3	Tsel.	5	7	2	—	6	20	12	405	70	475	Winter grazing: Mazaraki. Own small property with olive trees. Have right to graze on village common land
‡ John		Fa.Br.Son	2	4	—	—	0	6	3	160	20	180	
			7					26				655	
4.													
Vasili Charisis		Tsel.	1	1	—	—	4	6	3	320	0	320	Winter grazing: Kamarina. Own property for grazing. The families of Kakos and Konakis remain with the stani winter and summer
Michael		Br.	1	1	—	—	2	4	3	200	30	230	
Spiros Kakos		Unrelated hired	3	1	—	—	5	9	1	40	10	50	
Costas Konakis		Shepherds	2	3	—	—	1	6	1	40	0	40	
			7					25				640	

‡ Indicates households in these winter groupings which do not graze at Neochori in the summer.

5.												
‡ Const. Gogolos		Tsel.	2	2	—	—	4	8	3	160	20	180	Winter grazing: Skoupitsa. Pasture leased with protected rights
‡ John		Br.	1	1	—	—	0	2	4	170	20	190	
‡ Thomas		Fa.Br.Son	1	2	—	—	3	6	2	150	10	160	
‡ Theocharis		Fa.Br.Son	1	2	—	—	2	5	3	170	25	195	
Michael Detsikas		Sis.Hus.	4	2	—	—	3	9	4	215	60	275	Detsikas and Chasekis graze their flocks separately in the summer
Alec Chasekis	2	§	2	3	—	—	5	10	3	100	30	130	
			11					40				1190	
6.													
Evangelos Karageorgis		Tsel.	3	2	—	—	0	5	2	220	30	250	Winter grazing: Spatharati. Temporary possession of abandoned Muslim pasture
Athanasios		Br.	2	2	—	—	3	7	2	177	20	197	
George		Br.	1	1	—	—	1	3	2	140	50	190	
Demetrios		Br.	1	1	—	—	3	5	2	167	30	197	
Sister of George's dead wife (Unmarried)			0	1	—	—	0	1	0	0	60	60	This woman lives alone under the stani's protection
			7					21				894	
7.													
Theodoros Myriounis	5	Tsel.	5	5	—	—	7	17	6	396	80	476	Winter grazing: Karterion. Former Muslim land now leased to them by the villagers after a compulsory Government order. Raftis grazes separately in the summer
‡ Sotiri		Fa.Br.	1	3	—	—	1	5	1	20	90	110	
Pericles		Fa.Br.Son	2	3	—	—	3	8	2	155	15	170	
Theodoros Raftis		Hus. of Mo. first cousin	3	5	—	—	0	8	4	162	120	282	
			11					38				1038	
8.													
Demetrios Paparounas	4	Tsel.	5	4	—	—	10	19	9	530	60	590	Winter grazing: Karterion. Former Muslim land leased by villagers
Photios Gogolos		Sis.Hus.	1	1	—	—	5	7	1	50	0	50	
			6					26				640	

§ (A cousin of Michael Detsikas married Chasekis' sister)

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori

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427
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1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori

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HOUSEHOLDS	The No. of Brothers (If an extended household)	Relation of Head of house-hold to Technique or Leader of the unit	Working males over 13 years of age	Working females over 13 years of age	Sons at secondary school	Wage shepherds working away from family	Children and old people not able to work	Total	Horses and Mules	Sheep	Goats	Total of Sheep and Goats	Notes on Location of Winter grazing, etc.
9.													
Christos Arvanitis	3	Tncl.	4	4	—	—	5	13	7	430	60	490	Winter grazing: Karterion. Former Muslim
Evangelos Katris		Mo.Sis.Hus.	2	3	—	—	0	5	4	90	100	190	land leased by villagers. Katris grazes his
													flocks separately in the summer
			6					18				680	
10.													
Dionysios Barkas		Leader	4	1	—	—	0	5	5	190	70	260	Winter grazing: Mourton. Fallow land rented
Spiros Arvanitis		Fa.-in-law	0	2	—	—	3	5	0	5	60	65	from villagers
			4					10				325	
11.													
Demetrios Paschos		Leader	2	2	—	2	0	6	2	140	0	140	Winter grazing: South of Gulf of Arta,
Lambros		Br.	1	3	—	—	1	5	1	20	25	45	fallow land rented from villagers
Demetrios Theodorakis		Wi.Br.	1	2	—	1	0	4	7	98	30	128	Theodorakis grazes separately in the summer
			4					15				313	
12.													
Evangelos Loutsaris		Leader	2	2	1	—	1	6	2	140	0	140	Winter grazing: Grammenitsa. Pasture leased
George		Br.	1	1	—	—	4	6	2	140	0	140	with protected rights
			3					12				280	

13. George Kapsalis	2	—	3	3	—	—	0	6	3	180	0	180	Winter grazing: Kanallaki. Shepherds to villagers
			3					6				180	
14. George Chariis	2	—	3	3	—	—	3	9	5	110	60	170	Winter grazing: Kamarina. Fallow land rented from villagers
			3					9				170	
15. Demetrios Dethikas		—	1	2	—	1	—	4	1	54	0	54	Winter grazing: Philippiada. Shepherd to villager
			1					4				54	
16. Theodoros Arvanitis		—	1	2	—	—	2	5	1	80	15	95	Winter grazing: Kamarina. In winter shepherd to villager. Summer, runs own sheep in one flock
			1					5				95	
17. Demetrios Ladias		—	2	4	—	—	1	7	1	30	10	40	Winter grazing: Preveza. Shepherd to Sarakatsan stani. In summer, shepherd to villager
			2					7				40	
18. Spiridon Carvounis		-	2	2	—	—	1	5	2	85	20	105	Winter grazing: Mazaraki. Temporary allotment of former Muslim land
			2					5				105	

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori
[E.361]
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EH14
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1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori

[4.363]

APPENDIX III

A SPECIMEN FAMILY BUDGET 1934–5

This extended family possessed 350 sheep, of which 190 were ewes in milk. They also had 5 horses but no goats. There were 14 members, 7 adults and 7 children.

In these accounts quantities are in okes (1 oke = 1,280 grams) and values are in Drachmas (83 Drachmas to one pound sterling approx.).

Expenditure	*Drachmas*
Winter grazing dues at flat rate of 14 Dr. per sheep, 28 Dr. per horse or mule, on village common land. The stani of which this family is a member grazed the land by virtue of a compulsory Government order which also fixed the amount of payment	5,040
Owing to the small area and poor quality of this winter grazing the ewes carrying lambs were given supplementary feed in the form of cotton-cake. 17 okes of cotton-cake per ewe, at 3 Dr. the oke	9,690
Summer grazing in mountain village with citizens' rights of pasturage at the rate of 8 Dr. for the first 150 animals, and 14 Dr. for the remainder	4,140
Salt for sheep in summer	400
Flour 1300 okes at 4 Dr.	5,200
150 okes of olive oil at 17 Dr.	2,550
15 pairs of shoes at 150 Dr. a pair	2,250
Account with local tailor for the cutting and sewing of 6 jackets, 10 pairs of trousers and various other clothes for children and young girls	1,500
Share of general expenses of the stani* at 14·54 Dr. per sheep, 29 Dr. per horse	5,234
Miscellaneous purchases from village shop	3,066
Total	39,070

* This item represented the expenditure incurred by the stani in co-operative undertakings. In this instance more than half the amount was used for gifts and bribes, the remainder representing the cost of lawyers fees, fines for animal trespass, and the travelling expenses of the tselingas. The share paid by each member family is in proportion to the size of its flock.

16 /17 cont./
123 published data. (1)
124
127 1. Madame Hadjimichali: Ibid., p.

and on information furnished by the Services of the Hellenic State.

Thus, there is evidence that:

163 --The birth rate is very high among the Sarakatsani. Their families are very large, and the number of children that play around the
858 huts is considerable. "It is the children that make up true wealth,"
842 the Sarakatsani say; they also maintain that number of boys is of
562 greater importance to them than the number of girls. This statement is based on the fact that children of the female sex are not preferred and it is what they all believe, but it--is false. If it were true, the
[582] Sarakatsani would have difficulty marrying, since they practice endogamy; as a general rule they marry only Sarakatsani.

162 Now, there is no shortage of girls to marry in spite of information
[582] to the contrary furnished by B. Skafidas. (2)
[14]

2. Oi Sarakatsanaioi, p. 362.

[125] In taking a census of married women within the limits of two large
[178] Sarakatsani groups (at Tchoucalades very near Mt. Parnassus, and at Plaka near Lamia) who, significantly enough, were in the process of transition towards the sedentary life, we had occasion to /18/ confirm that non-Sarakatsani women represented a minute proportion (about 1.5%).

165 --Mortality is apparently low. It is the common belief among the Sarakatsani as well as among the peasants surrounding them that longevity is the rule among them.

This belief seems justified. The local health services of the Hellenic state, established in different localities visited by Sarakatsani, told us that mortality really is very low. Moreover, a visit to the Sarakatsani cemetery at Tchoucalades gave us the opportunity to ascertain that the average age of the deceased inscribed on the tombstones exceeded 70 years.
[217] Obviously, since there are no civil state registers among them (3) one may question whether these figures are very accurate.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Sara Katsani
EH14
Vlachs EH15

differ linguistically. Part of the lure of this Epirus trip was learning more about these people and their way of life.

I had already seen their rounded branch and reed huts, surrounded by wattled sheepfolds, put up either in some isolated, sheltered spot or at the edge of some village I was visiting. Although in Greece they do not number more than ten to twelve thousand families, they stand out picturesquely wherever they are. The men are dressed in tight-fitting black felt trousers and a black waistcoat and usually carry a black hip-length cape slung over their shoulder. They wear a round brimless lambskin cap (*kalpaki*). Many of the nomad women, in contrast to most of the Greek peasant women who now wear variations of Western dress, still keep to their heavy pleated homespun skirts, thick wool stockings, and wide leather belt.

Even such generalizations on dwelling and clothing are dangerous, for there are different nomadic groups. From many conversations with the nomads themselves as well as with others familiar with them, I was able to draw up tentative distinctions. On the basis of language, one can easily divide them into three groups. There are Koutso-Vlachs (the Lame Vlachs) who speak a Latin tongue in the home, although most of them, particularly the men, know Greek; the Arvanito-Vlachs (also called Karagouni because of the black cape they wear) who speak Albanian among themselves, although they still understand the Latin language of the Koutso-Vlachs from whom they derive; and the Sarakatsani, said not to be Vlach at all, who speak Greek as their only language. Many informants told me that the Sarakatsani were among the "purest Greeks" because they had practiced endogamy.

Another way of dividing the nomads is on the basis of type of settlement. The Karagouni and the Sarakatsani are called Skenites (literally, "tent dwellers"), for they do not usually have permanent homes either at their summer or their winter encampment. They build their reed huts anew each year or patch up those that remain usable from the previous year. The Koutso-Vlachs as well as the Greek peasants who practice transhumance (like those of Valtetsi) usually have a permanent village which they call home. In some interviews I found that the Koutso-Vlachs considered their winter home as the permanent settlement and the summer pastures the encampment; but most evidence seemed to indicate the reverse to be true.

The origin of these Koutso-Vlachs is one of the great ethnic puzzles of the Balkans, for their Latin tongue, although greatly corrupted by words from other Balkan languages, follows the four conjugations of ancient Latin. As in most riddles of this sort, nationalistic interests have led to several extravagant claims. Some of the modern Rumanians, chiefly in the old provinces of Moldavia and Wallachia, looked to the south across Bulgaria and what is now Yugoslavia to claim these Romance-language shepherds as long lost brothers to be reunited with the "homeland." They advanced

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Sara Katsani EH14
Vlachs EH15

On the credit side, one must reckon 5 to 7 okas of milk each year from the producing animals for family consumption, with some of this being worked into cheese. The family also has a supply of meat from the flock. But the greatest gain is a 15 percent annual increase in the flock that the owner can expect even if he sells the lambs listed in the table of income; this means that a year later the flock of 700 should number 805, barring serious diseases or natural disasters.

Some of the discussions revealed further interesting facts: winter pasture costs 50 drachmas per animal in winter and 20 in summer; a sheep needs more than one oka of salt each year; the chief shepherd, when he goes on business trips to arrange for the sale of his milk or lambs or to hire shepherds, travels by bus, sleeps in a hotel, eats in restaurants, and thinks of himself as a businessman; there is a small tax per oka of milk which is paid to the winter community by the "grocer," who buys the milk.

What was to have been a short conference beginning at five in the late afternoon extended to nine o'clock without a moment's let-up. There was much loud talking, which would lead a stranger to expect a fight the next minute; but then someone would make a humorous remark at which everyone would laugh. Use of pantomine, modulated voice control, appeal to the neutral listener to agree to the case one was presenting, humor, and willingness to follow an argument to its logical conclusion — all made one think of the agora of classic Athens transferred to a dimly lit, modestly furnished upstairs office of a gentle, well-informed government bureaucrat. And just at the crescendo of what seemed to be the verbal prelude to physical violence, the words "symphonia, symphonia" would ring out, thus showing that agreement had been reached. Voices and feelings would calm down for a while, before some new dramatic moment would build up again. Berates, the Karagoun, sat more quietly than the rest but seemed to enjoy the session just as much.

As we parted in the dark streets of Ioannina, where Turkish architecture with its balconies and minarets in the moonlight makes one suddenly feel very much a part of the East, Christos Berates agreed to visit us late on the next day in Konitsa and take us out to his night encampment.

In the time intervening, through the courtesy of the director of agriculture, I had an opportunity to read the classic Greek work on the nomads, published in 1925 as a bulletin of the Greek Agricultural Society under the title of *Nomadic, Permanent and Agricultural Livestock Production in Greece*.[11] It was most encouraging to find that the observations I had made corresponded as far as they went to those of the author, Demosthenes Sirakes. Needless to say, he provided many more details than I could have collected in the time at my disposal.

For one thing, he estimated the nomad livestock owners in 1925 at 13,700 families, divided as follows:

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
SaraKatsani EH14
Vlachs EH15

Sarakatsani	5,956
Arvanito-Vlachs (Karagouni)	786
Koutso-Vlachs	3,409
Greek peasants (like Valtetsi people)	3,549

He also gave the following distribution, by families, of the Sarakatsani, the type of people we had visited at Kalpaki:

Western Thrace	699
Macedonia	1,499
Thessaly	794
Roumeli	1,112
Epirus	492
Peloponnesos	1,390
	5,986

This book also indicated that there in Epirus I was in the center of the Karagouni group, since relatively few of their 786 families were geographically much farther eastward or southward.

The next afternoon, with Christos Berates, we headed into the countryside and saw within a mile of town his camp of four tents up on the left. Since his flocks had not yet arrived, he was somewhat disturbed and asked if we could drive back toward Kalpaki to meet them. We passed at least eight other flocks whose shepherds Berates knew and with whom he talked briefly. These shepherds were very happy to accept the cigarettes we offered, but they were both awed and mystified — to Berates' delight — at seeing him riding in an American car. They kept telling him that his flocks must be quite far behind. Even when a flock came into view at some distance, Berates could tell it was not his by the sound of the bells. His anxiety grew as dusk came on and we saw no more flocks on the road. Then suddenly he asked us to stop. He said, "they are over there!" and pointed far to the left. Sure enough, we heard the faint tinkle of bells and then about two hundred yards away saw the sheep coming. His flock, taking a short cut, had left the main route. He called to the shepherd and found that everything was in good order. Reassured, Berates was ready to go back to the camp to wait for his sheep.

We had to leave the car along the main highway and scramble up the high bank before finding the path that led us up the hill. There in a row, about ten feet apart, stood the four tents of brown homespun waterproof mohair, each stretched on a frame consisting of three poles tied at the top. The first tent was that of Christos and his son and daughter. A small fire of *pournari* (the evergreen oak with hollylike leaves) was replenished with fuel cut by a small, sharp ax. In that tent alone were seven big woven duffel bags, stuffed full of household goods or clothes. The floor of the tent was